

tireless dedication to the cause of Louisiana's working men and women. Always aided by his wife, Fran, Vic Bussie was not only an effective and articulate spokesman for organized labor; he also brought his influence and moral persuasion to bear on a wide variety of issues, including civil rights, education, health care, government reform and economic development. In every case, I believe that the people of Louisiana are better off today because Vic Bussie took an interest in those issues and dedicated himself to making life better for all of our citizens, not just those in the labor movement.

Perhaps one of the greatest testimonies to Vic Bussie's influence and power were the many national political leaders who relied on him during his 41 years at the helm of Louisiana's AFL-CIO. From John F. Kennedy to Lyndon Johnson to Jimmy Carter to Bill Clinton, presidents of the United States have often sought Vic Bussie's counsel and have relied on him to build public support for their campaigns and their legislative initiatives. In the mid-1960s, when President Lyndon Johnson was attempting to persuade my predecessor, Senator Russell Long, to support his proposal to create the national Medicare system, he called on Vic Bussie. As the story goes, Vic was on the next plane to Washington and it was not long afterwards that Senator Long announced his support for Medicare. As Russell and I have learned so many times, it is awfully hard to say no to Vic Bussie.

Mr. President, the late Adlai Stevenson once remarked that "every age needs men who will redeem the time by living with a vision of things that are to be." I suspect that Vic counted Adlai Stevenson as one of his friends. In fact, I would not be surprised to learn that Stevenson had Vic Bussie in mind when he uttered those words. As leader of Louisiana's labor movement for the past 41 years, Vic Bussie has certainly redeemed his time well. All working men and women owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude and my wife, Lois, and I are very proud to be part of the chorus of well-deserved praise that is coming his way during the days leading up to his retirement.

I know I speak for many others when I say that Victor Bussie will always be gratefully remembered for the outstanding service he has rendered to his State and his Nation.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

• Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I oppose amending the U.S. Constitution with a rigid requirement that every year the Federal Government must have a zero budget deficit. I don't think it is appropriate to use our Nation's most revered governing document to lock in a budget and economic policy that cannot respond to changing needs and circumstances. And I do not believe such a requirement could be en-

forced without forcing a constitutional crisis.

In my view, Congress does not need an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to perform its responsibility to enact responsible, balanced Federal budgets. The President and the Congress have all the tools they need to reduce the deficit, to respond and adapt to the country's changing needs, and to keep us militarily and economically strong. It is not a constitutional amendment that makes these choices, but strong leadership and judgment. We must make the choices through realistic cuts in spending, reasonable and fair tax policies, and the setting of obtainable goals that show the specifics—every spending cut and every tax.

Congress can and should act to reduce the deficit. A Democratic Congress did just that in 1993, and the deficit has been cut by more than 60 percent. Including an artificial, unworkable mandate in the U.S. Constitution is not the appropriate path to fiscal responsibility.

I offered and withdrew an amendment which would have protected Medicare from the autopilot of the balanced budget amendment. I offered the Medicare amendment with the intention of engaging in a debate that would expose the balanced budget amendment for the budgetary strait jacket that it is. I offered the amendment with the firm belief that a debate about the effects of a balanced budget amendment on Medicare may help some of my colleagues think through what their actions will mean. People don't want Social Security to be used to balance the budget—and, I believe Medicare is just as important to our constituents as Social Security. Medicare provides West Virginia seniors with health care security—Social Security with a measure of retirement security. My amendment says that the pursuit of a balance budget should not rob seniors of the health care security they need and deserve.

The current constitutional balanced budget amendment, if passed, would force deep and devastating cuts on the Medicare Program. Such cuts would increase the already too high out of pocket costs senior citizens are forced to pay for basic health care. The pending constitutional amendment is sure to drive up the percentage of a senior's total income they must spend on health care services. Currently, seniors' out of pocket costs are, on average, about 21 percent of their total income. This balanced budget amendment is likely to force seniors to spend 25, 30, 35, or even 50 percent of their total resources on the health care services they need. This increased burden on seniors would force many seniors into poverty and make a greater proportion of them dependent on Medicaid services, in essence, shifting even more health care costs to the states.

I want my colleagues to recognize the real world consequences of their vote for an automatic, constitutional

balanced budget—the imposition of devastating cuts in the Medicare Program. Every Senator who I have heard speak publicly about Medicare has said they want to protect, preserve, and strengthen the program. A balanced budget amendment to the Constitution will do the opposite by devastating Medicare—simple math tells us this is true. If my colleagues mean it when they say they want to protect Medicare, they will oppose this constitutional amendment. I urge my colleagues to vote against Medicare being used as a piggy bank to be raided at the end of the year, when the budget isn't in balance, for whatever unforeseen economic reason.

I think my colleagues should consider the admonition of the Secretary of the Treasury about the consequences of a Constitutional balanced budget amendment for Medicare beneficiaries. I asked the Secretary what he thinks would happen to Medicare beneficiaries under a balanced budget amendment when he appeared before the Finance Committee two weeks ago. Here is our exchange about the effects of the balanced budget amendment:

Senator ROCKEFELLER. Now we have this thing called a balanced budget amendment, which, according to one of the papers this morning, may lose steam in both chambers, and I hope that is the case.

But, in the event that it is not, it will be, I think, very problematic for Medicare if we go into a situation where, let us say—Senator MOYNIHAN has heard me talk about this many times—back in the early 1980's in West Virginia we had unemployment that ran up to 21 percent, and devastation to the extent that we were laying off tens of thousands of workers. And this was not common just to West Virginia, it was true in the industrial heartland, as we were making a major economic shift that was painful.

Now, if that were to happen again, and I see no reason why it will not; Japan is now going through exactly that same kind of difficulty, one that we would not have guessed that they would have gone through 10 years after we did, but they are. They are very down about it. They are going to be fine in the long-term.

But if we were to run into that situation again in this country and we had a balanced budget amendment and we had to balance by the end of the year and we had to do our part here in Finance, would we not run into what we used to call sequestration?

Secretary RUBIN. I think that you could easily run into a situation, Senator. I think this is only one of the many problems that a balanced budget amendment creates, and that is, I do think it creates an additional threat to Medicare, if that is what you are saying. If you get to the end of the year and there is a very large, unexpected shortfall, which happens from time to time, then I think the President could be in a position where he would be forced to simply cease sending out all checks.

Well, if you cease sending out all checks you will cease sending out Social Security checks, you will cease sending out Medicare checks, and you will cease sending out all other kinds of checks, I think, instead of being able to deal with it in some sort of a reasonable and sensible fashion.

The Medicare trust fund should not be used as a cash cow to balance the budget in an effort to meet the restrictive requirements of a constitutional

amendment. I believe it is clear that one consequence of Senate Joint Resolution 1 would be the Medicare program, which provides health services to 38 million senior citizens, will be cut in excess of what is required to protect seniors and beyond the dictates of good health policy.

I am committed to charting a positive course for our Nation in the 21st century, and I believe that we are moving in the right direction. Some of us have worked very hard in the recent years to do the job of digging out from the exploding deficits of the 1980's, by reducing the deficit, and changing the priorities of the Federal budget in order to cut waste and increase investment in America's future. I have cast many votes in recent years for actual cuts, for detailed changes in policy, and for specific budget plans. These are the kinds of real votes that have cut the deficit.

By working out a balance between what must be done to invest in our people, and using their hard-earned tax dollars more wisely, we have a course that is far less reckless and dangerous than strapping this amendment onto the U.S. Constitution. I truly believe we can achieve the real goal of a balanced budget amendment—fiscal responsibility—if we are brave enough to tackle the real challenges that confront us. For the sake of real fiscal responsibility and the sake of West Virginia's future, I cast my vote against the constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

MR. COKER ADDS TO THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, last fall, I had the opportunity to participate in a ribbon cutting ceremony commemorating renovations to the Queen Manor low-income senior citizen complex in Dover, DE. One of the highlights of the ceremony was a poem written and read by Mr. James B. Coker that reminds us that drug abuse is not the answer.

Mr. President, I ask that the text of the poem be printed in the RECORD.

The poem follows:

The high I need doesn't come in a bottle
Or in an auto's throttle
Just give me some hugs
Not someone's drugs

Mr. BIDEN. Last week, President Clinton announced a new addition to our strategy in the fight against drug abuse by young people in America. I applaud the President's effort to focus on teen drug abuse, and believe that it is a good response to a disturbing trend that we cannot ignore. We must harness a moral condemnation of drug use by all segments of our population.

I commend Mr. Coker for making a difference, and am grateful for his contribution in the fight against drug abuse.●

DIVERSIFIED

INTERGENERATIONAL CARE, INC.

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Diversified Inter-

generational Care, Inc., in recognition of the grand opening of their facility at the West Haven Medical Center on March 21, 1997. This facility, which is the first of its kind in the Nation, will provide child care services and care for the mentally ill and elderly.

The sole principals of the company, Scott L. Shafer and Bernard L. Ginsberg, were able to make this facility a reality through a lease they were awarded by the Department of Veterans Affairs. They were selected for the Department's enhanced-use lease through a highly competitive process involving companies nationwide.

Diversified Intergenerational Care, Inc. considers it an honor to work with the Department of Veterans Affairs. They intend to continue their partnership by developing other intergenerational facilities. Their goal is to satisfy the unmet need for care for children, the elderly, and the mentally ill at VA medical centers across the country.

I congratulate Diversified Intergenerational Care, Inc. and the Department of Veterans Affairs for creating this very worthwhile facility, and thank them for working to make these vital services available to those in need.●

ANOTHER MILESTONE FOR THE NPT

● Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I rise to remind my fellow colleagues that today marks the 27th anniversary of the entering into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, or NPT. All too often, the contributions to U.S. security made by multilateral arrangements like the NPT go unrecognized.

I will speak today of a treaty that—with the accession by Oman last January—now has 185 members. That is more than any international security treaty in history. Though it is true that the NPT has not eradicated the global threat of nuclear weapons proliferation—and that it faces some daunting challenges ahead—the treaty has undoubtedly served U.S. interests well and deserves the respect and support of all Members of Congress and indeed all Americans.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS

Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks a list supplied by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency of all current signatories and parties to the NPT. The only major nonmembers are India, Pakistan, Israel, Brazil, and Cuba.

The NPT was negotiated throughout the 1960's and was signed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk on July 1, 1968. The treaty commits the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China—the treaty's so-called nuclear-weapon states, defined as countries that detonated a nuclear explosive device before January 1, 1967—not to transfer, directly or indirectly, any nuclear explosive device or control over such a de-

vice to any other country, and “not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce” any non-nuclear-weapon state to acquire such a device. (Article I.)

As for the latter states, the treaty obligates them to forswear the bomb and to agree to full-scope safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] over all of their nuclear materials. (Articles II and III.)

The treaty also obligates all of its parties to pursue negotiations toward nuclear disarmament, indeed to pursue the eventual goal of a “treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.” (Article VI.)

These respective obligations form the heart of the security obligations of members of the NPT. Though the treaty also encourages peaceful uses of atomic energy (Article IV), this encouragement obviously does not extend to help in making bombs or the fissile materials for use in such bombs. The “NP” in “NPT” continues to stand for nonproliferation—not “Nuclear Proliferation” or “Nuclear Profiteering.”

NEW CHALLENGES AHEAD

Now, many published critiques have already established that the NPT is far from a perfect treaty. Typically these include observations about the limits of safeguards, the treaty's lack of complete universality, the lack of mandatory sanctions for violations, the inclusion of anachronistic language about “peaceful nuclear explosions,” the lack of an explicit ban on nonnuclear-weapon states helping other nonnuclear-weapon states to acquire the bomb, and allegations about the treaty's discriminatory division of the world into nuclear have's and have not's.

Though many of these specific criticisms are well-founded, I would like to identify some broader challenges that could someday jeopardize not just this treaty, but the very existence of nonproliferation as a basic norm of the international community.

Ironically, the first major challenge may well come from the disarmers. Though the United States and Russia have recently made substantial reductions in their strategic arsenals, it is possible that, someday, dozens of non-nuclear-weapon states may reconsider their membership or abandon the treaty due to what they may believe is inadequate progress toward the goal of total nuclear disarmament. What a hypocritical step that would be: it would amount not just to a form of extortion, but one based on some rather peculiar logic—“either you disarm, right now, in the interests of world peace, or we will arm.” How this will serve the interests of either peace or nonproliferation is beyond me.

I agree that America and all the other nuclear-weapon states should reaffirm their obligation under the NPT to negotiate in good faith toward the ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament. But I do not read the NPT itself as